An Accidental Musicologist – Wang Guangqi 王光祈 (1892–1936) and Sino-German Cultural Interaction in the 1920s and 1930s

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Abstract

Much has been written about China's political, military, and economic relations with Germany in the Republican Era. Yet little attention has been given to Chinese students in Germany who acted as a conduit through which information was passed back and forth between the two countries. This paper uses biographical and bibliographical resources as a way of studying Sino-German cultural interaction in the 1920s and 1930s. The multi-faceted cultural interaction is explored through the case of a remarkable individual, Wang Guangqi 王光祈, who lived in Germany from 1920 to 1936. By focusing on his quadripartite role, as a pioneer of Western music in China, a promoter of German music education, a transmitter of the theories and methods of the Berlin School of Comparative Musicology, and an explicator of Chinese music to the German public, the paper hopes to shed light on the multiple contributions that individuals who straddled two continents made to cross cultural fertilization.

1 Introduction

Much has been written about China's political, military, and economic relations with Germany since the eighteenth century.[1] Yet comparatively little attention

[1] For an excellent study on the extraordinary relationship that developed between China and Germany during the Nanjing decade [*Nanjing shi nian* 南京十年] (1928–1938), see Kirby, William C.: *German and Republican China*, Stanford: Stanford University Press 1984. For more recent publications, see Mai, Jingsheng, Mak, Ricardo K., and Paau, Danny S. L. (ed.): *Sino-German relations since 1800: multidisciplinary explorations*,

has been given to Chinese students in Germany in the Republican Era (1912–1949) who acted as a conduit through which information was passed back and forth between the two countries.

This paper uses biographical and bibliographical resources as a way of studying Sino-German cultural interaction in the 1920s and 1930s. The various and multi-faceted cultural interaction is explored through the case of a remarkable man, Wang Guangqi 王光祈 (1892–1936), a law graduate, journalist and founder of the hugely influential youth organization, the Young China Association (*Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui* 少年中國學會), who lived in Germany from 1920 to 1936. Prior to his sojourn in Germany, Wang was widely known as a youth activist and a fervent advocate of social reform. However, after living in Germany for two years, Wang decided to study music. Such a significant shift in his focus raises many questions. How did this change come about? What were the origins of Wang's expertise in music? What was the scope of his knowledge and competence? How did his career as a specialist relate to his cultural environment? What impact did he have on the growth of Western musical knowledge in China? Through an examination of Wang Guangqi's sixteen-year residency in Germany and an historicizing account of his writings on music, the paper hopes to highlight the multiple roles that individuals played in cross cultural fertilization.

More specifically, this paper aims to explore Wang Guangqi's contribution to, and influence on, Sino-German cultural interaction in the 1920s and 1930s. It will delve into discussions of the quadripartite role Wang played in Sino-German cultural interactions: Wang as an early promoter of Western music in China, Wang as a proponent of German music education, Wang as a transmitter of the theories and methods the so-called Berlin School of Comparative Musicology in East Asia, and Wang as a pioneering explicator of Chinese music in Germany. The analytical term of "role" used here indicates a social position that fulfills a function for the social group to which it is directed. It will attempt to study these four roles in the chronological and contextual context of three periods of Wang's life in Germany: First, his early years in Frankfurt as special correspondent for the Shanghai *Shenbao* 申報 and the Beijing *Chenbao* 晨報 (Morning Post); Second, his 10-year sojourn in Berlin as a student of Western musicology; and finally, his last years in Bonn as a lecturer in Chinese.

Frankfurt am Main: Lang 2000; Cho, Joanne Miyang and Crowe, David (ed.): *Germany and China: transnational encounters since the eighteenth century*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2014.

2 Biographical Outline

Wang Guangqi (spelt variously as Wang Kwan-chi, Wang Guang Ki, courtesy name, or *zi* 字: Runyu 润玙, pen name: Ruoyu 若愚) was part of the transitional generation which enjoyed both a traditional Chinese upbringing and an exposure to the new Western learning (*xixue* 西學). Born in a small town near Wenjiang 温江, Sichuan 四川, in 1892, he grew up in an impoverished scholar-gentry family and was raised according to traditional modes of conduct by his widowed mother. In 1907, two years after the abolition of China's age old civil examination system, Wang went to Chengdu 成都 and enrolled at the No. 1 Primary School (*Chengdu diyi xiaoxue* 成都第一小學) at the request of Zhao Erxun 趙爾巽 (1844–1927), a student of Wang Guangqi's grandfather. Thanks to Zhao's financial assistance, Wang was able to continue his study at the middle school attached to the Chengdu College of Higher Learning (*Chengdu gaodeng xuetang fushu zhongxue* 成都高等學堂附屬中學) where he became close friends of the future novelist Li Jieren 李劫人 (1891–1962), the future founder of the Chinese Youth Party (*Zhongguo qingnian dang* 中國青年党), Zeng Qi 曾琦 (1892–1951), and the German-trained mathematician Wei Siluan 魏嗣鑾 (1895–1992).[2]

Upon his graduation in March 1913 from the middle school, Wang worked as a newspaper editor before drifting, first to Shanghai 上海, then to Qingdao 青島, and finally to Beijing 北京, to seek employment with his former benefactor Zhao Erxun, who, as editor-in-chief of the newly established Bureau of Qing Historiography (*Qing shiguan* 清史館), managed to secure him a position at the Bureau. Not content with just doing clerical work, Wang enrolled at the China University (*Zhongguo daxue* 中國大學) in Beijing majoring in law in 1914 and, from 1916, also worked on the editorial staff of the *Jinghua ribao* 京華日報 (Peking Daily) and acted as the Beijing correspondent of the Chengdu-based *Sichuan qunbao* 四川群報 (Sichuan Mass News). After earning a bachelor's degree in law in 1918, Wang began to contribute reports to *Chuanbao* 川報 (Sichuan News), another Sichuan provincial newspaper established by Wang's friend Li Jieren. The latter part of 1918 saw Wang's role shift from student, clerk, and journalist to writer on social and political concerns. From December 1918 to July 1919, Wang contributed articles to such progressive journals as *Meizhou pinglun* 每周評論 (Weekly Critic), *Chenbao fukan* 晨報副刊 (Morning News Supplement), and *Xin qingnian* 新青年 (New Youth). These included essays on contemporary social and political issues, introductory notes to Western

[2] Li Jieren 李劫人: "Shiren zhisun 詩人之孫" [Grandson of a poet], in: *Wang Guangqi xiansheng jiniance* 王光祈先生紀念冊, Shanghai: Wang Guangqi jinian weiyuanhui 1936, 15–18.

social, political and economic theories, analysis and comment on world affairs, ideas on legal and educational matters, and so forth.

Living in an era of acute political breakdown and tremendous intellectual ferment, Wang clearly belonged to a generation that came of age during the late 1910s and early 1920s, one that broke with the past and exerted a significant influence on the course of China's intellectual and political history.[3] Prior to embarking on his journey to Europe in 1920, Wang, by virtue of his social and journalistic activities, had already established himself as a youth leader with a reputation comparable to that of Li Dazhao 李大釗 (1889–1927), Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 (1879–1942) and Hu Shi 胡適 (1891–1962).

Wang Guangqi's importance as a youth leader and social reformer is nowhere better demonstrated than the crucial part he played in founding the Young China Association, the Beijing Work-Study Mutual Assistance Groups (*Gongdu huzhutuan* 工讀互助團) and the New Village Movement (*Xincun yundong* 新村運動). The Young China Association, known for its relatively long existence, large number of participants, wide geographical distribution of branches and, later, the clear and diverse political affiliations of its members,[4] differed from other youth organizations in that it required its members to dedicate themselves "to social services under the guidance of the scientific spirit," rather than advocating radical political changes.[5] It was largely under Wang's leadership that

3 Levine, Marilyn A.: *The found generation: Chinese communists in Europe during the twenties*, Seattle/London: University of Washington Press 1993.

4 Inaugurated in June 1918 by Wang Guangqi, Li Dazhao, Zeng Qi, and four others from Sichuan, the Young China Association was formally established in Beijing on July 1, 1919. It lasted more than six years and had more than one hundred members both within China and abroad. Prior to being moved to Nanjing 南京 in 1924, the headquarters of the association was situated in Beijing with branches in Chengdu, Nanjing, and Paris. Besides Beijing, which had the largest body of member, members of the association were scattered in Hunan 湖南, Hubei 湖北, Shandong 山東, Shanxi 山西, Fujian 福建, Anhui 安徽, Liaoning 遼寧, Shaanxi 陜西, Shanghai, Jiangsu 江蘇, Zhejiang 浙江, Tianjin 天津, Guangdong 廣東 and France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Britain, America, Japan, Southeast Asia and other places. A vast majority of the members were intellectuals of distinction who later became prominent figures in almost every field of Chinese society despite their diverse political beliefs. For a discussion of Wang Guangqi's role in the Young China Association, see Gong, Hong-yu 宫宏宇: "Wang Guangqi and the Young China Association", in: *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 1.2 (1999), 5–27. For recent studies of the Young China Association, see Wu Xiaolong 吴小龍: *Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui yanjiu* 少年中國學會研究 [A study of the Young China Association], Shanghai: Sanlian shudian 2006; Chen Zhengmao 陳正茂: *Lixiang yu xianshi de chongtu: Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui shi* 理想與現實的衝突: 少年中國學會 [A Study of clashes between idealism and reality: a history of the Young China Association], Taipei: Xiuwei chubanshe 2010.

5 See *Shaonian Zhongguo* 少年中國 [Journal of the Young China Association, hereafter

the association emerged in the wake of the May Fourth Incident "as the foremost exponent of reorganizing China from the bottom up through the agency of 'small group' (*xiao zuzhi* 小組織)."[6] In March 1919, Wang also became the founder of the Beijing Work-Study Mutual Assistance Groups and one of the most ardent proponents of the New Village Movement.[7]

In early 1920, Wang, like the large numbers of young people who were attracted by science, democracy, philosophy, and the lower cost of living and university tuition fees in Europe, decided to go abroad to study Western modernity. However, after seeing how important music was in the lives of ordinary Germans and how Germans preserved their national identity in the wake of their defeat in the First World War (1914–1918), Wang, echoing the Confucian belief that music is the best means to effect goodness in the hearts of the people and to transform social mores (*yifeng yisu mo shan yu yue* 移風易俗莫善於樂), became convinced that music was the solution to China's problems. In early 1922, partly saddened by ideological infightings among members of the Young China Association and partly disillusioned by their impatience to dedicate their efforts to reforming Chinese society at grassroots level[8], Wang abandoned his plan to study politics and economics and pursued instead the study of music, culminating in obtaining his doctorate from Bonn University in 1934. During his some sixteen years in Germany, from June 1920 to January 1936, Wang not only published some sixteen books and numerous articles on music, but also brought out some twenty books and several volumes of translations on various aspects of Western civilization, all in the hope of developing an overall strategy for a Chinese cultural revival through exploring the European cultural heritage.[9]

cited as *SNZG*] 1.1 (1920), coverpage.

6 Dirlik, Arif: *Anarchism in the Chinese revolution*, New York: Columbia University Press 1991, 191.

7 Han Liwen 韓立文 and Bi Xing 畢興: *Wang Guangqi nianpu* 王光祈年譜 [A chronological biography of Wang Guangqi], Beijing: Renmin yinyue chubanshe 1985, 40.

8 For an in-depth discussion of Wang Guangqi's reaction to the ideological infightings of the Young China Association, see Gong, Hong-yu 宫宏宇: Wang Guangqi (1892–1936): His Life and Works. MA thesis: Auckland University 1992, Chapter 3.

9 For a preliminary study of Wang's works on music, see Gong, Hong-yu 宫宏宇: "Wang Guangqi (1892–1936): His Life and Works" (1992), 131–158. For an incomplete list of Wang's works, see Zhu Daihong 朱岱弘: "Wang Guangqi zhuzuo wenzhang ji youguan ziliao mulu 王光祈著作文章及有關資料目錄" [An index to Wang Guangqi's works and other related materials], in: *Wang Guangqi yanjiu lunwen xuan* 王光祈研究論文選 [A collection of research papers on Wang Guangqi], ed. by Li Wen 立文, Bi Xing 畢興, and Zhu Zhou 朱舟, Chengdu: Wang Guangqi yanjiu xueshu taolunhui 1984, 342–357.

3 Frankfurt Years (June 1920 – July 1922)

On April 1, 1920, Wang Guangqi boarded the French ship *Paul Lecat* in Shanghai bound for Europe.[10] On June 1, 1920, exactly two months after they set out, he and his friends finally stepped onto German soil.[11] The first city where Wang Guangqi stayed after his arrival in Germany was Frankfurt am Main, where he initially stayed in a family home owned by a gentleman named Dr. De Shili 德士烈[12] before shortly moving to Am Wasserturm 15.[13]

As mentioned above, Wang Guangqi's original plan was to study in the United States,[14] but of an eye problem he failed the medical examination required by the American health authority for an entry permit. He decided to go to Germany instead. It should be mentioned that although Wang expressed his strong desire to enrich himself intellectually by venturing abroad, scholarly pursuit was by no means the only incentive that drove him to embark on what later proved to be a long and arduous journey.[15] Wang himself gave three reasons for his overseas journey: First, he intended to get in touch with "worthy youths amongst the overseas Chinese". Second, he would prepare for the setting up of a news service in Washington D. C. The last one was his personal quest for knowledge. As can be clearly seen, it was largely driven by the idea of expanding the work of the Young China Association that he originally planned first to spend some time in Southeast Asia, then in Europe and finally to study in America.[16] Music did not feature in his initial plan.

While living in Frankfurt, Wang's main task was to apply himself to the study of the German language during the day. But to support himself, he also worked as a special correspondent for several Chinese newspapers, including the Shanghai *Shenbao* and *Shishi xinbao* 時事新報 (Current Affairs) and the Beijing

10 *SNZG* 1.11, (1920), 57, also *SNZG* 2.1 (1920), 54–55.

11 *SNZG* 2.2 (1920), 58.

12 Wang Guangqi's letter published in *SNZG* 2.2 (1920), 57.

13 *SNZG* 2.4 (1920), 90.

14 *SNZG* 1.8 (1920), 63.

15 Some scholars have argued that the main reason for Wang's decision to study abroad was his love affair with Wu Ruoying 吳若膺. See Wang Yong 王勇: *Wang Guangqi liu De shengya yu xiwen zhushu yanjiu* 王光祈留德生涯與西文著述研究 [Wang Guangqi's career in Germany and a study of his writings in Western languages], Shanghai: Shanghai yinxiang chubanshe 2007, 17–18. For Wang Guangqi and his friends' travelling experience during the voyage to Germany, see Wei Shizhen's letter published in *SNZG* 2.2 (1920), 55–57.

16 Wang Guangqi: "Liubie Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui tongren 留別少年中國學會同仁" [Farewell to my colleagues at the Young China Association], in: *SNZG* 1.8 (1920), 62–64, see 63.

Chenbao, writing articles and translating news reports and feature articles in local newspapers with help of Wei Siluan at night.[17] As can be expected, Wang Guangqi's writings at this time mainly reflect his impressions of the new land and its social, economic, cultural and political structures. However, as a youth leader and social reformer, he also paid close attention to the themes that he had been concerned about, i.e. the diligent work and frugal study movement, the New Village Movement, and the need to create a new culture and morality to which the youth of China could dedicate themselves.[18]

Wang's early years in Germany also 1921 saw his increasing preoccupation with the fate of the Young China Association and the Work-Study Mutual Assistance Group, as evidenced by all but one of his six articles which appeared in the 1921 and 1922 issues of the *Journal of the Young China Association* (*Shaonian Zhongguo* 少年中國).[19] Wang's writings at this time, although showing that his perception of the need for social reform and the role of youth had not changed, also reveal his realization that in order to effect a societal change, it was necessary to "understand the spirit of the West on ethical, cultural, social and technological levels."[20] Coupled with this understanding was Wang's revived confidence in traditional Chinese culture, particularly his belief in the relevance of ritual and music in China's transformation.

To be sure, Wang had never shown any willingness to subject Chinese culture to thorough critique even in the heyday of the iconoclast New Culture Movement of the late 1910s. He had always maintained that China's ancient civilization and the contemporary Chinese society were two different things.[21] What Wang criticized was the latter, not the former. Given this dichotomy it is not difficult to understand why Wang attacked present Chinese society on the one hand and advocated the revival of aspects of traditional Chinese culture on the other.

[17] Because Wang did not understand German he had to rely on Wei's oral translation to acquire information from German newspapers. Wei's facility in German was outstanding due to years of extensive training in the German-run institute, the Tongji College of Medicine and Technology, in Shanghai. See Hu, Danian: *China and Albert Einstein: the reception of the physicist and his theory in China 1917–1979*, Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press 2005, 107.

[18] Wang Guangqi: "Lü Ou zagan 旅歐雜感" [Miscellaneous thoughts on living in Europe], in: *SNZG* 2.5 (1920), 32–38, see 32–33.

[19] For a detailed discussion of these writings, see Gong, Hong-yu 宫宏宇: "Wang Guangqi (1892–1936): His Life and Works" (1992), chapter 2.

[20] Levine, Marilyn A.: *The found generation: Chinese communists in Europe during the twenties* (1993), 140.

[21] Wang Guangqi: "Lü Ou zagan", in: *SNZG* 2.8 (1921), 63.

Wang's revived interest in China's traditional cultural values can be seen as a reaction to the German intellectual environment of the 1920s. When he and his friends arrived in Frankfurt in June 1920, Europeans, devastated by the calamity of the First World War, were suffering from an acute crisis in their consciousness and thus developed "an attraction towards the Far East, or Eastern, Chinese spirituality".[22] Indeed, "the German China image had changed back again from vile to venerable: ever since the 1920s and '30s, Germans from all walks of life were united in fond affection for Chinese art, literature, philosophy, and religion, seeking 'light from the East'".[23] This friendly turn in German attitudes towards China did not go unnoticed by Wang and his friends. Noticing the positive influence of Chinese religion and philosophy on German society, Wei Siluan, now a formally enrolled student at the University of Frankfurt who hence had more personal interactions with German intellectuals thanks to his proficiency in the German language, mentioned that there were two schools of thought, new and old, which were gaining currency among German intellectuals at the time. According to Wei, the former school, consisting of intellectuals mainly from philosophical, artistic and literary circles, was contemplating a move towards learning from the East to remedy the defect as a result of having realized the inadequacy of Western learning. Thus they were often engaged in discourses on Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism and other matters concerning Oriental civilization. The latter, composed of those who held a firm belief in the omnipotence of natural science, refused to be swayed by this train of thought. Wei observed that in the battle for dominance the new school was gaining the upper hand.[24] Wei also recorded in his diary his chance encounter with a German professor who, being also the leader of the German Youth Party at the time, held Confucius in high esteem and took great pride in talking about his acquaintance with Gu Hongming 辜鸿铭 (1857–1928), the man who was largely responsible for introducing Confucianism to European readers. Wang also recorded an instance where Wei Siluan was approached by a certain German professor who wished to discuss the teaching of Confucius with him. While traveling in the countryside, another friend of Wang Guangqi overheard a German secondary

22 Bieg, Lutz: "Literary translations of the classical lyric and drama of China in the first half of the 20th century: the "case" of Vincenz Hundhausen (1878–1955)", in: *De l'un au multiple: Traductions du chinois vers les langues européennes*, ed. by Alleton, Viviane and Lackner, Michael, Paris: Maison des sciences de l'homme 1999, 62.

23 Richter, Ursula: "Richard – Founder of a friendly China image in twentieth century Germany", in: *Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica* 20 (1991-06), 153–181, see 154.

24 Wei Shizhen 魏時珍 [Wei Siluan 魏嗣鑾]: "Lü De riji 旅德日記" [Diaries in Germany], in: *SNZG* 3.4 (1921), 37–38.

school teacher expounding to his students the doctrine of Confucianism.[25]

Wang Guangqi himself was quick to rave about his impression of some European intellectuals' admiration for "the spiritual civilization of the Orient and their detestation of Western material civilization".[26] On October 26, 1920, for example, Wang reported excitedly about the extraordinary popularity of "recently published books in Europe, such as *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (The Decline of the West) and others, that attack Western civilization with utmost effort".[27] By singling out Oswald Spengler's (1880–1936) iconoclastic book to question the Eurocentric view of history and to praise the cultural achievements of the East, Wang not only alerted Chinese readers to the European trend of reflecting on the crisis of its own civilization but more importantly reminded them to have faith in their own cultural heritage.[28]

Chinese philosophical writings aside, Germany of the 1920s and 1930s also saw the appearance of a large number of translations of literary works from China, which further boosted Wang Guangqi's confidence in the intrinsic value of his own culture. In addition to the translations of philosophical and historical works by Richard Wilhelm (1873–1930), the translations of traditional and modern novels, short stories, and the classical poetry of China were easily noticeable in Germany.[29] The fact that Wang was greatly inspired by this German fever for Chinese culture is evidenced by his mentioning of an anthology entitled *Pfirsichblüten*.[30] "All the works included in this anthology", Wang enthused, "are Chinese poems and many of them are translated from the *Shijing* 詩經 (Book of Songs)." He also noticed that because labor costs in book binding in Germany were more expensive than in book printing, many scientific books were not as carefully bound as literary works. However, to his surprise, this anthology of Chinese poetry was not only elegantly bound but it was also more beautifully

25 Wang Guangqi: "Lü Ou zagan", in: *SNZG* 2.8 (1921), 54. See Gong Hong-yu 宫宏宇: "Wang Guangqi chu dao Deguo 王光祈初到德國" [Wang Guangqi's early years in Germany], in: *Huangzhong* 黄鐘 [Yellow Bell (Journal of the Wuhan Conservatory of Music)] 3 (2002), 13–21.

26 Wang Guangqi: "Lü Ou zagan", in: *SNZG* 2.8 (1921), 63.

27 Wang Guangqi: "Lü Ou zagan", in: *SNZG* 2.8 (1921), 63.

28 Wang Guangqi is credited with being the first person to introduce Oswald Spengler's *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* to China. See Li Changlin 李长林: "Sibinggele 'wenhua xingtai shiguan' zai Zhongguo de zaoqi chuanbo 斯賓格勒'文化形態史觀'在中國的早期傳播" [The early spread of Oswald Spengler's idea of the history of style as an organism in China], in: *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 [Historical Research] 6 (2004), 162–163.

29 Bieg, Lutz: "Literary translations of the classical lyric and drama of China in the first half of the 20th century: the "case" of Vincenz Hundhausen (1878–1955)" (1999), 62.

30 Wang probably was referring to Hans Bethege's *Pfirsichblüten aus China: Nachdichtungen Chinesischer Lyrik*, which was first published in Berlin by Ernest Rowohlt in 1922.

presented than other literary books produced at that time. Wang also cited a review published in a newspaper called *Vossische Zeitung* to demonstrate the kind of admiration that German intellectuals felt for traditional Chinese culture.[31]

Although Wang Guangqi was greatly heartened by this enthusiasm for Chinese culture on the part of the German reading public, he was not satisfied with the fact that most of the writings on Chinese culture available in Western languages were done by Gu Hongming. Because of Gu's extreme conservative stand and his restorationist activities,[32] Wang did not think at this time that Western readers could have a good understanding of China's past cultural achievements, although in later years he changed his attitude toward Gu Hongming. It was partly due to this misgiving that Wang Guangqi began to contemplate the possibility of taking on the role of a cultural messenger between East and West. Wang's idea of introducing Chinese culture to a wide range of Western readers was further advanced by his realization that "although recently the cultural movement in our country has been a scene of bustle and excitement, it is, in the eyes of Europeans, nothing more than plagiarizing European theories."[33] By merely imitating others, Wang warned, one should not expect much respect, particularly in terms of alleviating the degree of contempt that Westerners had shown for China. "In my opinion," Wang wrote, "in order to make the Chinese race more respectable we'd better create our own new culture and thus make a contribution to the world."[34] If this could not be achieved, Wang advised, "We should at least introduce to Europe some of China's ancient culture".[35] In doing so, Wang believed, the civilizations of East and West would have a chance to meet and thus make the creation of a third civilization possible. In a narrow sense, promotion of China's glorious past in the West would undoubtedly improve China's image and therefore make Westerners less contemptuous of the Chinese people.[36]

31 WANG Guangqi: "Lü Ou zagan", in: *SNZG* 2.8 (1921), 61–62.

32 For a biographical sketch of Gu Hongming, see BOORMAN, Howard L.: *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, New York: Columbia University Press 1967, see 250-252. Although changing his attitude toward Gu Hongming in his late years, LIAO Fushu 廖輔叔: "Wang Guangqi de guanghui yeji ying zairu shice 王光祈的光輝業績應載入史冊" [The glorious deeds of Wang Guangqi should be recorded in the annals of history], in: *Wang Guangqi yanjiu lunwen xuan* 王光祈研究論文選, ed. by LI Wen 立文, BI Xing 畢興, and ZHU Zhou 朱舟, Chengdu: Wang Guangqi yanjiu xueshu taolunhui 1985, 339–341, see 340.

33 WANG Guangqi: "Lü Ou zagan", in: *SNZG* 2.8 (1921), 63.

34 WANG Guangqi: "Lü Ou zagan", in: *SNZG* 2.8 (1921), 63.

35 WANG Guangqi: "Lü Ou zagan", in: *SNZG* 2.8 (1921), 63.

36 WANG Guangqi: "Lü Ou zagan", in: *SNZG* 2.8 (1921), 63.

Aside from the above-mentioned reasons, the lectures delivered by Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941)[37] at this time might have also helped account for Wang's enthusiasm for China's traditional culture. On June 8, 1921, Wang attended one of Tagore's lectures in Darmstadt. In the course of the lecture, Tagore reportedly launched a stinging attack on what he considered the weakness commonly seen among Europeans, namely "a mentality of organized selfishness".[38] Should this kind of selfishness continue to exist, Tagore reportedly warned, Europeans would not only bring harm to other people but destroy themselves as well. Tagore was also reported as having stressed the importance of retaining the national identity of each nation.[39] It is unknown how Wang responded to Tagore's speech. However, given the patriotic sentiment Wang and his friends had demonstrated at this time, it is reasonable to assume that Wang would have been sympathetic to Tagore's stance and found his speech inspiring. Moreover, Wang had on at least one occasion praised Tagore for his effort in promoting Oriental civilization in the West and regretted the fact that there was no one from China doing a similar thing.[40]

In order to carry out his plan of explaining contemporary China and introducing some aspects of China's ancient culture to Europe, Wang Guangqi and ten other Chinese students established in 1921 the Society for the Study of Chinese and German Cultures of Chinese Students in Germany (*Liu De xuesheng Zhong De wenhua yanjiu hui* 留德學生中德文化研究會).[41] True to his word, Wang himself tried his hand at explaining China to the German public by contributing articles to German newspapers and journals. In 1921, for example, his first piece of writing in German, entitled "Deutsche Kulturpolitik in China", appeared in the July 14 issue of *Frankfurter Zeitung*. In April 1922, his short piece on the influence of overseas trained Chinese students on Chinese politics also appeared in a German journal.[42]

37 Tagore was the first Asian who received 1913 the nobel price of literature. He became famous as a poet, philosopher, composer and musician.

38 Wei Shizhen 魏時珍 [Wei Siluan 魏嗣鑾]: "Lü De riji 旅德日記" [Diaries in Germany], in: *SNZG* 3.4 (1921), 29–40, see 37.

39 Wei Shizhen 魏時珍 [Wei Siluan 魏嗣鑾]: "Lü De riji" (1921), 37.

40 Wang Guangqi: "Lü Ou zagan" (1920), in: *SNZG* 2.8 (1921), 63.

41 *SNZG* 3.2 (1921), 76–77.

42 Wang, Kwang-chi [Wang Guangqi]: "Über den Einfluss der im Ausland vorgebildeten Chinesen auf die politische Entwicklung Chinas", in: *Kultur* 2.16 (1922).

4 Berlin Years (July 1922 – November 1932)

In July 1922, Wang Guangqi moved to Berlin, where he first stayed in Mariendorfer Straße 16 and then moved to Adolfstraße 12 in the suburb of Steglitz.[43] It was in the winter of this year that Wang decided to abandon his goal of studying politics and economics and, at the age of 30, began to take lessons from private music teachers in violin and music theory.[44] At about the same time he also started to study organology with Curt Sachs (1881–1959), the German-born musicologist and then director of Berlin's *Staatliche Instrumentensammlung*, and to study the anatomy of the ear and throat at the Otology Department of Berlin State Hospital in order to learn about the structure and physiological function of these parts of the human body relevant to the study of hearing and voice production.

While pursuing private studies in Western music and musicology, Wang Guangqi must also have read widely about music in Western literature because it was at this time that he began to publish articles and books in China on all aspects of Western music. From 1923 to 1931, he wrote some sixteen books and an equal number of articles on all aspects of Western and Chinese music.[45]

If there is any pattern to be observed in the appearance of these books and articles, one could establish these rough categories: works describing musical life in Germany appeared between 1923 and 1928; books about the history and general achievements of Western music – spanning the whole period of his time in both cities Berlin and Bonn, were mainly written from 1924 to 1931; articles and books promoting musical education appeared between 1925 and 1928; works pertaining to comparative musicology were mostly written from 1924 to 1929 before his enrollment in the University of Berlin. With the exception of his doctoral thesis, the scholarly works on Chinese music were completed before his move to Bonn in 1932. All but two of his books were published by the Shanghai-based Zhonghua Book Company (*Zhonghua shuju* 中華書局).

43 Han Liwen 韓立文 and Bi Xing 畢興: *Wang Guangqi nianpu* (1985).

44 Wang Guangqi: "Wo de jianli 我的簡歷" [A brief autobiography], reprinted in: *Wang Guangqi yinyue lunwen xuan* 王光祈音樂論文選, ed. by Li Wen 立文, Bi Xing 畢興, and Zhu Zhou 朱舟, Chengdu: Wang Guangqi yanjiu xueshu taolunhui 1984, 314.

45 For a complete list of these writings and their publication details, see Zhong Shanxiang 钟善祥: "Wang Guangqi wenxian zongmu 王光祈文献總目" [A complete list of writings by Wang Guangqi], in: *Wang Guangqi wenji* 王光祈文集, ed. by Sichuan yinyue xueyuan 四川音樂學院, vol. 5, Chengdu: Bashu shushe 2009, 460–464.

4.1 Wang Guangqi as a Promoter of Western Music

The first work on Western music Wang Guangqi ever wrote was a series of ten reports entitled "*Deguoren zhi yinyue shenghuo*" 德國人之音樂生活 (Musical Life of the Germans) which first appeared in Shanghai's oldest and most widely read newspaper Shenbao in October 1923 and later reprinted in journals such as *Yinyue jikan* 音樂季刊 (Musical Quarterly; November 1923), *Yinyuejie* 音樂界 (Music Circles; November 1923), and *Shaonian Zhongguo* (December 1923). In these reports, Wang not only informs the Chinese public of the origins, genres, and prominent figures of German music but also lectures them on the importance of music to a nation's well-being. In addition, Wang was at pains to draw attention to the works of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750), George Frideric Handel (1685–1759), Franz Joseph Haydn (1732–1809), Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791), Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827), Felix Mendelssohn (1809–1847), Johannes Brahms (1833–1897), Richard Strauss (1864–1949) and Richard Wagner (1813–1883), applauding German/Austrian music for being the leader in the world of classical music and recommended it as the best model for China to emulate. To familiarize Chinese readers with the achievements of individual German and Austrian composers, Wang provided biographical sketches of these and other German and Austrian masters and highlighted German composers' contributions to instrumental music, opera and lieder through the works of Beethoven, Christoph Wilibald von Gluck (1714–1787), Carl Maria Friedrich Ernst von Weber (1786–1826), Louis Spohr (1784–1859), Wagner, and Franz Schubert (1797–1828).[46]

Following this general introduction to the rich musical life in Germany and drawing the attention of his readers to the vital importance of music to a nation's spiritual well-being, Wang wrote several books to provide more information on European music, particularly on the history and different genres of Western music. These include: *Xiyang yinyue yu shige* 西洋音樂與詩歌 (Western Music and Poetry), completed in January 1924 and published in October of the same year;[47] *Xiyang yinyue yu xiju* 西洋音樂與戲劇 (Western Music and Opera), completed in July 1924 and published in February 1925;[48] and *Xiyang yueqi*

46 Wang Guangqi: "Deguo ren zhi yinyue shenghuo (1-10) 德國人之音樂生活" [Musical life of the Germans], reprinted in: *Wang Guangqi yinyue lunwen xuan* 王光祈音樂論文選, ed. by Li Wen 立文, Bi Xing 畢興, and Zhu Zhou 朱舟, Chengdu: Wang Guangqi yanjiu xueshu taolunhui 1984, 7–41.

47 Wang Guangqi: *Xiyang yinyue yu shige* 西洋音樂與詩歌 [Western music and poetry], Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju 1924.

48 Wang Guangqi: *Xiyang yinyue yu xiju* 西洋音樂與戲劇 [Western music and opera], Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju 1924.

tiyao 西洋樂器提要 (Summary of Important Western Musical Instruments), written in 1924 and published in January 1928.[49] These books, being summaries of Wang's readings of Western literature in music, may be criticized for lack of originality, but they are significant in that they were the earliest and for a long period the only books on Western music published in China.

As he advanced steadily in his private study of Western musical theory, Wang began to concern himself more and more with the technical aspects of Western music. As a result, a series of books and articles expounding the compositional techniques of Western music came into being. Of these, the most important were *Xiyang zhipuxue tiyao* 西洋制譜學提要 (Summary of Compositional Techniques of Western Music; completed in March 1925 and published in July 1929) and *Duipu yinyue* 對譜音樂 (Contrapuntal Music; finished in 1925 but not published until February 1933). The former discusses compositional techniques of Western music from three perspectives: melody, harmony and form. In the latter book Wang introduced the reader to yet another important aspect of Western compositional techniques: counterpoint.[50] This book, like most of Wang's other books, is the first book on the subject ever published in China. After Wang Guangqi, only Miao Tianrui 缪天瑞 (1908–2009) translated a book on contrapuntal music by Iba Takashi 伊庭孝 (1887–1937) in 1933.[51]

After Wang Guangqi formally enrolled at Berlin University in 1927, he also wrote a textbook on the general history of Western music. *Xiyang yinyue shi gangyao* 西洋音樂史纲要 (An Outline History of Western Music), as the book is entitled, was completed in November 1930 and published posthumously in December 1937.[52] As a textbook it provides a comprehensive survey of the evolution of Western musical form, instruments, the tone system, and notations, as well as a systematic discussion of the connections between music, science and different art forms. It shows the growth of music from its primitive beginnings via the many stages of development in the times of Greek Antiquity, Roman Empire and the Renaissance to the achievements of modern Europe and beyond. This book appears to have been the natural result of his conscientious effort over almost a decade, for the sheer labor required to write a work of such wide scope

49 WANG Guangqi: *Xiyang yueqi tiyao* 西洋樂器提要 [Summary of important Western musical instruments], Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju 1924.

50 WANG Guangqi: *Duipu yinyue* 對譜音樂 [Contrapuntal music], Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju 1933.

51 MIAO Tianrui: *Duiweifa gailun* 對位法概論 [A brief introduction to counterpoint], Shanghai: Wanye chubanshe 1933.

52 WANG Guangqi: *Xiyang yinyue shigang* 西洋音樂史纲 [An outline history of Western music], Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan 1927.

must have been staggering. The subsequent re-issuing of the book in February and August 1941 proves the worth of his labor.

The last book Wang wrote concerning Western music was *Xiyang mingqu jieshuo* 西洋名曲解說 (A Guide to Well Known Western Musical Masterpieces).[53] Completed in July 1931 and published in February 1936, this book once again reflects Wang Guangqi's love for German and Austrian music, since the majority of the compositions he discusses in the book were by either German or Austrian composers. Besides Handel, Haydn, J. S. Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Mendelssohn, and Robert Schumann (1810–1856), Anton Bruckner (1824–1896), Johann Strauss 1825–1899), Wagner, Johannes Brahms (1833–1897), Hugo Wolf (1860–1903), Richard Strauss (1864-1949), Gustav Mahler (1860–1911), Max Reger (1873–1916), Arnold Schoenberg (1874–1951), and Paul Hindemith (1895–1963) are also featured prominently.[54] Only nine out of the 26 composers he had chosen for his book were from non-German background. Yet despite his enthusiasm for German and Austrian music, Wang never entertained the idea of a wholesale adoption of Western music. Throughout his writings he always maintained that China should have its own music.

Although these books were intended to familiarize Chinese readers with all aspects of Western musical culture, they also contain Wang's reflections on Chinese music. In *Xiyang zhipuxue tiyao* 西洋制譜學提要, for example, Wang remarked that "the fundamental difference between modern Western and Chinese composition lies in the fact that the former emphasizes "harmony" (*xiehe xue* 諧和學) and the latter "melody" (*zhudiao xue* 主調學)".[55] Interestingly, this remark was later echoed by a number of experts on Chinese music. Y. R. Chao 趙元任 (1892–1982), the renowned linguist and composer, also elaborates this point by stating "Chinese music is primarily melodic. In fact, there is no harmony to speak of."[56] John Hazedel Levis in his Foundations of Chinese Musical Art concurred that "Chinese music. . . is a music that is composed purely

53 It is recorded that Wang Guangqi also published *Xiyang geju zhinan* 西洋歌劇指南 [A Guidebook to Western Opera] in 1936. See Zhu Daihong 朱岱弘: "Wang Guangqi zhuzuo wenzhang ji youguan ziliao mulu" (1984), 355. But musicologists in China have until now not been able to verify the fact.

54 Wang Guangqi: *Xiyang mingqu jieshuo* 西洋名曲解說 [A guide to well-known Western musical masterpieces], Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju 1936.

55 Wang Guangqi: "Xiyang zhipuxue tiyao – zixu 西洋制譜學提要-自序" [Preface to summary of compositional techniques of Western music], reprinted in: *Wang Guangqi yinyue lunwen xuan* 王光祈音樂論文選, ed. by Li Wen 立文, Bi Xing 畢興, and Zhu Zhou 朱舟, Chengdu: Wang Guangqi yanjiu xueshu taolunhui 1984, 79–85, see 79.

56 Chao, Y. R.: "Music", in: *Symposium on Chinese culture*, ed. by Zen, Sophia H. Chen, Shanghai: China Institute of pacific relations 1931, 99.

of melody and form, without any harmony or counterpoint."[57] In matters of musical form, Wang also made a very perceptive observation in pointing out the important relationship between classical Chinese poetry and music.[58] Levis stresses the importance of these relations to such an extent that, when commenting on the relevance of the *ping ze* 平仄 (flat or deflected tone) system of poetry to music, he asserts: "what has been so far considered merely a system of rules connected with Chinese poetry proves to be a basis of musical composition which may be applied to define the form of the mightiest symphonic composition in Occidental music."[59]

4.2 Wang Guangqi as a Proponent of German Music Education

Like Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868–1940) and Xiao Youmei 萧友梅 (1884–1940) before him, Wang Guangqi was deeply impressed by the accessibility of music education in Germany. In his view, the civilized behavior of German people and the cohesiveness of German society were to a large extent due to the German emphasis on music education. In contrast, music education, although constituting one of the six components of a Confucian humanistic education, was sadly lacking in contemporary China. Wang thus decided to draw Chinese educators' attention to the importance of music education to a nation's well-being. His first attempt along this line was clearly reflected in his 1925 book *Deguo guomin xuexiao yu changge* 德國國民學校與唱歌 (The German National School and Singing). Completed in May 1924, this book, as Wang made it clear in his preface, aims to inspire an interest among Chinese educationalists for the importance of music in education so that a national program of music education can be introduced throughout the Chinese public school system.[60] As a practical guide, the book not only introduces Chinese educators to the music curricula from the first to the eighth grade of a combined primary and lower secondary education in German state schools but also includes a number of songs, such as "Die Kleine Gärtnerin", "Wettstreit", "Regenlied", "Vögel singen, Blumen blühen", "Der gute Kamerad" and "Das Lied der Deutschen" that were used in

57 Levis, John Hazedel: *Foundations of Chinese musical art*, Peiping: Vetch 1936, 198.

58 Wang, Kwang-chi [Wang Guangqi]: "Über Die chinesiche Poetik", in: *Sinica* 5 (1930), 245–260.

59 Levis, John Hazedel: *Foundations of Chinese musical art* (1936), 201.

60 Wang Guangqi: *Deguo guomin xuexiao yu changge* 德國國民學校與唱歌 [German national schools and singing], Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju 1925.

German public schools.[61]

To familiarize his Chinese readers with German music education, Wang followed up by writing a number of articles, one of which was entitled "Deguo yinyue jiaoyu" 德國音樂教育 (Music Education in Germany). In this article, he provided a general survey of music education in Germany and "examined how music education had become the main focus of the government's national agenda in the 1920s."[62] To furnish Chinese teachers with concrete examples of music teaching, Wang also compiled an anthology of school songs entitled *Xiaoxue changge xin jiaocai* 小學唱歌新教材 (New Teaching Material for Singing for Primary Schools) in which four of the nine songs were composed by Wang himself. The other five songs were transcriptions of German folk songs.[63] He also published *Geguo guoge pingshu* 各國國歌評述 (An Appraisal of the National Anthems of Various Nations).[64]

Wang's interest in promoting German-style music education in China and his attention to the practical details of music teaching can also be clearly seen in two articles he contributed to *Zhonghua jiaoyujie* 中華教育界 (China's Educational Circles) in 1927 and 1928, namely "Yinyue zai jiaoyu shang zhi jiazhi" 音樂在教育上之價值 (The value of music in education) and "Xue shuohua yu xue change" 學說話與學唱歌 (Learning to speak and learning to sing). The former draws attention to the pedagogical importance of music education by speculating on the correlation between the faculties of hearing and sight and

61 Wang Guangqi: *Deguo guomin xuexiao yu changge* (1925); Wang Guangqi: "Deguo guomin xuexiao yu changge 德國國民學校與唱歌" [German national schools and singing], reprinted in: *Wang Guangqi wenji* 王光祈文集, ed. by Sichuan Yinyue Xueyuan 四川音樂學院, vol. 3, Chengdu: Bashu shushe 2009, 81–97.

62 Leong, Jeremy: A Study of German Perspective: Musical Contributions of Three Chinese Scholars and Jewish Immigrants in Republican China. PhD dissertation: University of Wisconsin-Madison 2009, 158. Wang Guangqi: "Deguo yinyue jiaoyu 德國音樂教育" [Music education in Germany], in: *Zhonghua jiaoyujie* 中華教育界 [China's Educational Circles] 17.4 (1928-04), 81–97; Wang Guangqi: "Deguo yinyue jiaoyu 德國音樂教育" [Music Education in Germany], reprinted in: *Wang Guangqi wenji* 王光祈文集, ed. by Sichuan Yinyue Xueyuan 四川音樂學院, vol. 3, Chengdu: Bashu shushe 2009, 483–498.

63 Hu Yangji 胡扬吉: "Wang Guangqi yu yinyue jiaoyu 王光祈與音樂教育" [Wang Guangqi and music education], in: *Wang Guangqi yanjiu lunwen xuan* 王光祈研究論文選, ed. by Li Wen 立文, Bi Xing 畢興, and Zhu Zhou 朱舟, Chengdu: Wang Guangqi yanjiu xueshu taolunhui 1985, 158–166, see 162. For a musicological and pedagogical analysis of these nine songs, see He Fuqiong 何福琼: "Wang Guangqi erge jiushou pingxi 王光祈儿歌九首評析" [An analysis of Wang Guangqi's nine children's songs], in: *Wang Guangqi yanjiu lunwen xuan* 王光祈研究論文選, ed. by Li Wen 立文, Bi Xing 畢興, and Zhu Zhou 朱舟, Chengdu: Wang Guangqi yanjiu xueshu taolunhui 1985, 181–196.

64 Wang Guangqi: *Geguo guoge pingshu* 各國國歌評述 [An appraisal of the national anthems of various nations], Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju 1926.

one's intelligence[65] and the latter focuses on the principles of voice production by introducing the concept of "bel canto".[66] Wang also corresponded with music educators in China about his idea of an ideal musical education.

4.3 Wang Guangqi as a Transmitter of Comparative Musicology

Wang Guangqi was first exposed to the concepts, methods and findings of the so-called Berlin School of Comparative Musicology shortly after he moved to Berlin in 1922, even though he did not formally enroll at the University of Berlin until April 1927. Berlin in the 1920s was a world-renowned research center for comparative musicology "with the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv as the center of a worldwide network of scholarly discourse, of gatherers of information and recordings, a fountainhead of ideas."[67] The strong tradition of comparative musicology at the University of Berlin can be traced back to the psychologist and philosopher Carl Stumpf (1841–1936) who started the Institute of Psychology and the Phonogramm-Archiv in 1900. This tradition was inherited and strengthened by Erich Moritz von Hornbostel (1877–1935), Otto Abraham (1872–1926), Curt Sachs (1881–1959), Robert Lach (1874–1958), and Marius Schneider (1903–1982).

Living in the "Golden Age of comparative musicology"[68] and taking courses with Hornbostel (tone psychology and music psychology) and Sachs (organology),[69] Wang was quick to introduce to Chinese readers the concepts, methods and findings of the school by writing a number of books in this field. These include Wang's first major study of the development of Western music, *Ouzhou yinyue jinhua lun* 歐洲音樂進化論 (On the Evolution of European Music; com-

65 WANG Guangqi: "Yinyue zai jiaoyu shang zhi jiazhi 音樂在教育上之價值" [The value of music in education], reprinted in: *Wang Guangqi wenji* 王光祈文集, ed. by Sichuan yinyue xueyuan 四川音樂學院, vol. 3, Chengdu: Bashu shushe 2009, 457–467.

66 WANG Guangqi: "Xue shuohua yu xue changge 學說話與學唱歌" [Learning to speak and learning to sing], in: *Zhonghua jiaoyu jie* 中華教育界 [China's Educational Circles] 17.7 (1928).

67 CHRISTENSEN, Dieter: "Erich M. von Hornbostel, Carl Stumpf, and the Institutionalization of Comparative Musicology", in: *Comparative musicology and anthropology of music: essays on the history of ethnomusicology* (1991), 201.

68 CHRISTENSEN, Dieter: "Erich M. von Hornbostel, Carl Stumpf, and the Institutionalization of Comparative Musicology", in: *Comparative musicology and anthropology of music: essays on the history of ethnomusicology* (1991), 201.

69 Before his official matriculation at the University of Berlin, Wang had already attended public music lectures delivered by Hornbostel.

pleted in 1923 and published in 1924),[70] his subsequent explorations into the tone systems of Eastern nations, *Dong Xi yuezhi zhi yanjiu* 東西樂制之研究 (On the Tone Systems of Orient and Occident; completed in the winter of 1924 and published in January 1926),[71] *Dongfang minzu zhi yinyue* 東方民族之音樂 (Musics of the Peoples of the Orient; completed in November 1925 and published in February 1933),[72] and his articles highlighting the "similarities and differences between Chinese and Western Music".[73]

Yu Renhao 俞人豪, a Beijing-based musicologist who was one of the first to make an in-depth study of Wang's connection with the Berlin School of Comparative Musicology, has demonstrated that its influence on Wang is mainly manifested in three areas: his belief in the evolutionary process of music; his application of the theory of "cultural circles" in music (*Kulturkreislehre*); and his choice of research topics and areas of focus.[74]

Indeed, the most salient features of the Berlin School of Comparative Musicology are its idea of musical evolutionism and its focus on the origins of music. The study of musical instruments was another important field for this school. Both Hornbostel and Sachs were strong advocates of the theories of musical evolutionism and difussionism, sometimes also called "culture-circle" theory (*Kulturkreislehre*). These theories found their way into almost all of Wang's writings on music. In his *Ouzhou yinyue jinhua lun*, for instance, Wang Guangqi made it clear that he aimed to give a concise account of the evolutionary process of European music from the time of the Greek lyric poet Pindar (518? – 438 BC) to that of Beethoven. Clearly applying the theories and methodolo-

70 Wang Guangqi: *Ouzhou yinyue jinhua lun* 歐洲音樂進化論 [On the evolution of European music], Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju 1924.

71 Wang Guangqi: "Dong Xi yuezhi zhi yanjiu 東西樂制之研究" [On the tone systems of Orient and Occident], reprinted in: *Wang Guangqi yinyue lunwen xuan* 王光祈音乐论文选, ed. by Li Wen 立文, Bi Xing 畢興, and Zhu Zhou 朱舟, Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju 1984, 69–78.

72 Wang Guangqi: *Dongfang minzu zhi yinyue* 東方民族之音樂 [Musics of the peoples of the Orient], Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju 1933.

73 Wang Guangqi: "Zhongxi yinyue zhi yitong 中西音樂之異同" [The similarities and differences between Chinese and Western music], in: *Liu De xuezhi* 留德學志 [Journal of Chinese Students in Germany] 1 (1930).

74 Yu Renhao 俞人豪: "Wang Guangqi yu bijiao yinyuexue de Bolin xuepai 王光祈与比較音樂學的柏林學派" [Wang Guangqi and the Berlin School of Comparative Musicology], in: *Yinyue tansuo* 音樂探索 [Explorations in Music] 3 (1986), 46–51. Also see Guan Jianhua 管建華: "Shiping Wang Guangqi de bijiao yinyuexue guandian 試評王光祈的比較音樂學觀點" [A tentative discussion of Wang Guangqi's views on comparative musicology], in: *Wang Guangqi yanjiu lunwenxuan* 王光祈研究論文選, ed. by Li Wen 立文, Bi Xing 畢興, and Zhu Zhou 朱舟, Chengdu: Wang Guangqi yanjiu xueshu taolunhui 1985, 102–115.

gies of his mentors, Wang describes the evolutionary process of European music from simple medieval monophony to more complex polyphony, and ultimately to homophony.[75]

Continuing in the same evolutionary vein, Wang in his *Dong Xi yuezhi zhi yanjiu* provides the readers with a detailed analysis and mathematical calculations of the tone systems of China, Europe, Persia, Arabia and India. It is in this book that Wang made an assertion that while many things in the China of his day were in a state of backwardness, the study of tone system, or rather the study of theories of temperament (*lü* 律) and mode (*diao* 調), were highly developed in traditional China. Instead of belittling themselves, Wang stated, Chinese people should be proud of this accomplishment and strive to bring it to perfection.[76]

The influence of the theories of musical evolutionism and diffusionism of the Berlin School of Comparative Musicology on Wang Guangqi can also be seen in his other writings on music. The fourth section of Chapter Two of Wang's *Xiyang yinyue gangyao* 西洋音樂綱要 (Summary of Western Music)[77] and the ubiquitous use of the term "evolution" (*jinhua* 進化) in his *Zhongguo yinyue shi* 中國音樂史 (History of Chinese Music) are just two of the most obvious examples.[78] His chapter on the origins of *lü* in the latter book, in particular, is based on the diffusionist view Sachs adopted in his *Geist und Werden der Musikinstrumente* (1929).[79]

The influence of diffusionism on Wang Guangqi is perhaps nowhere clearer manifested than in his adoption of the Hornbostel-Sachs system of classifying musical instruments and his application of the "culture-circle" theory to the study of scale and modal systems. In his *Zhongguo yinyue shi*, Wang, for example, discussed the difficulty of using the traditional *bayin* 八音 (eight sound materials) system to classify Chinese musical instruments and adopted the Hornbostel-Sachs system of classification.[80] In the same book Wang also used the diffusionist theory to explain the origins and development of Chinese music.[81]

75 Leong, Jeremy: "A Study of German Perspective: Musical Contributions of Three Chinese Scholars and Jewish Immigrants in Republican China" (2009), 152.

76 Wang Guangqi: "Dong Xi yuezhi zhi yanjiu" (1984), 74.

77 Wang Guangqi: *Xiyang yinyue shigang* (1927).

78 Wang Guangqi: *Zhongguo yinyue shi* 中國音樂史 [History of Chinese music], Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju 1934.

79 Yu Renhao 俞人豪: "Wang Guangqi yu bijiao yinyuexue de Bolin xuepai" (1986).

80 Wang Guangqi: *Zhongguo yinyue shi* 中國音樂史 [History of Chinese music], Nanning: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe 2005, 148–149.

81 Yu Renhao 俞人豪: "Wang Guangqi yu bijiao yinyuexue de Bolin xuepai" (1986), 49.

Methodologically, Wang was strongly influenced by the so-called "Hornbostel paradigm", which has a strong focus on "scalar structures and pitch relations and giving attention to singing style and tone color".[82] This influence is manifested most clearly in his *Dongfang minzu zhi yinyue* which is in fact a continuation of Wang's previous work *Dong Xi yuezhi zhi yanjiu.* In this book, Wang gives an account of the musics of Asian nations, comparing their similarities and differences on the basis of scalar structures and pitch relations. It is in this book that Wang introduced the concept of "Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft" (comparative musicology) and highlighted its scope of research.[83] It is also in this book that Wang acquainted Chinese readers with the scholarly achievements of Alexander J. Ellis (1814–1890) by mentioning his monumental work *On the Musical Scales of Various Nations.*[84]

Wang Guangqi also applied the "culture-circle" theory to the study of Chinese scale and modal systems. In his *Dongfang minzu zhi yinyue*, for example, he divided the world into three musical circles – China, Greece, and Persia/Arabia, and, following his mentor Hornbostel's theory, he argued that although the musical cultures of China and the West shared the same origin, namely both were shaped by the influence of ancient Babylon, they went on different paths of development.[85] He believed that the ancient Chinese measurement was based on the Babylonian unit of measurement.[86]

Besides applying the theories of evolutionism and diffusionism in his studies of both Chinese music and Western music, Wang was also fascinated by the Tonal Fusion theories and psychological works of Carl Stumpf, who was regarded by many as the father of the Berlin School of Comparative Musicology,[87] and was the first to introduce his work to China. In his pioneering book on acoustics, *Yinxue* 音學 (A Study of Tones), for example, Wang drew on the theories and findings in Stumpf's *Psychology of Tone* and gave an introductory account

82 Nettl, Bruno: *Nettl's elephant: on the history of ethnomusicology*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2010, 75.

83 Wang Guangqi: *Dongfang minzu zhi yinyue* (1933).

84 For a brief account of Ellis' contribution to ethnomusicology, see Kunst, Jaap: *Ethnomusicology*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff 1959, 2–7.

85 Wang Guangqi: *Dongfang minzu zhi yinyue* (1933).

86 Wang Guangqi: "Zhongguo yuezhi fawei 中西樂制發微" [Exploration in the tone system of China], reprinted in: *Wang Guangqi yinyue lunzhu xuanji* 王光祈音樂論著選集, ed. by Feng Wenci 馮文慈 and Yu Yuzi 俞玉滋, vol. 3, Beijing: Renmin yinyue chubanshe 1993, 166.

87 Christensen, Dieter: "Erich M. von Hornbostel, Carl Stumpf, and the Institutionalization of Comparative Musicology", in: *Comparative musicology and anthropology of music: essays on the history of ethnomusicology* (1991), 201.

of Western studies of the phenomenon of sound as a stimulus at once physical, physiological, and psychological.[88] In an article entitled "Shengyin xinli xue" 聲音心理學 (Tone Psychology), he described Stumpf's views concerning the perception of consonance and dissonance and highlighted his psychological approach to the physics of sound.[89]

4.4 Wang Guangqi as an Explicator of Chinese Music

Wang probably started to study Chinese music in 1924 or earlier, because it was in December of that year that he completed *On the Tone Systems of Orient and Occident*, a book which contains lengthy discussions on the Chinese tone system. Less than a year later, in 1925, Wang devotes one third of his book *Musics of the Peoples of the Orient* to the study of traditional Chinese musical theory.[90] While these two books give more or less equal coverage to the different tone systems of various nations, his article "Zhongguo yuezhi fawei" 中國樂制發微 (Exploration in the Tone System of China) concentrates exclusively on the musical system of China.[91] In March 1929, Wang completed yet another article, 'Yipu zhi yanjiu" 譯譜之研究 (On the Interpretation of Notation) giving a comprehensive survey of various notations of Chinese music and discussing in some detail the specific problems associated with *lülü* 律吕, *gongshang* 宫商 and *gongche* 工尺 notations.[92] A few months later, Wang completed his *Fanyi qinpu zhi yanjiu* 翻譯琴譜之研究 (On the Interpretation of *qin* Notation),[93] a book closely related to the previous two articles but more specific on the notation of the *qin* 琴, the seven-stringed zither. Wang tried to use modified Western staff notation as substitute for the age-old *qin* tablature, which was composed of abbreviated Chinese characters.[94] In February 1931, Wang also completed

88 Wang Guangqi: *Yinxue* 音學 [A study of tones], Shanghai: Qizhi shuju 1929, 310–400.

89 Wang Guangqi: "Shengyin xinli xue 聲音心理學" [Tone psychology], in: *Zhonghua jiaoyujie* 中華教育界 [China's Educational Circles] 17.5 (1928), 131–137, reprinted in Li Wen 黎文, Bi Xing 毕兴, and Zhu Zhou 朱舟 (ed.): *Wang Guangqi yinyue lunwenxuan* 王光祈音乐论文选 [Collection of Wang Guangqi's music writings], Chengdu: Bashu shushe 1984, 125–140.

90 Wang Guangqi: *Dongfang minzu zhi yinyue* (1933).

91 This article was completed on April 1927 but published in *Zhonghua jiaoyu jie* 17.8 (December 1928), reprinted in *Wang Guangqi wenji*, Vol. 1, 286–302.

92 Wang Guangqi: "Yipu zhi yanjiu 譯譜之研究" [On the interpretation of notation], in: *Zhonghua jiaoyu jie* 中華教育界 [China's Educational Circles] 17.10 (1929).

93 Wang Guangqi: *Fanyi qinpu zhi yanjiu* 翻譯琴譜之研究 [On the interpretation of qin notation], Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju 1931.

94 For a critical discussion of this book, see Fu Qingyu 傅慶裕: "Guanyu Wang Guangqi 'Fanyi qinpu zhi yanjiu' 關於王光祈'翻譯琴譜之研究'" [On Wang Guangqi's 'On the interpretation of qin notation'], in: *Wang Guangqi yanjiu lunwen xuan* 王光祈研究論文選,

his masterful book *Zhongguo yinyue shi*.[95]

During his time in Berlin, Wang Guangqi also continued to write and sometimes publish articles in German. Between 1925 and 1930, he wrote: "Das chinesische Tonsystem" (1925), "Die Bedeutung der Musik in China" (1926),[96] "Über die chinesische Musik" (August 1927),[97] "Über die chinesischen Notenschriften" (1928), "Die Statistik des chinesischen Ackerlandes im Laufe der Jahrtausende" (1928),[98] and "Über die chinesische Poetik" (1930).[99] Of these, the three articles on Chinese music were all published in *Sinica*, a journal set up by the German missionary-turned sinologist Richard Wilhelm in Frankfurt in the late 1920s.[100]

In addition to writing about Chinese music, Wang Guangqi also organized events where aspects of China's musical culture could be showcased. For example, in August 1927 Wang arranged for his friend Ling Chunsheng 淩純聲 (1902–1981), who was then studying anthropology in Paris, to give a *qin* performance at the Summer of Music with an international exhibition entitled "Music in the Life of the Nations" in Frankfurt.[101]

5 Bonn Years (November 1932 – January 1936)

On November 1, 1932, Wang Guangqi, on the recommendations of Professor Paul E. Kahle (1875–1964)[102] and the Chinese Consulate General in Berlin,

ed. by Li Wen 立文, Bi Xing 畢興, and Zhu Zhou 朱舟, Chengdu: Wang Guangqi yanjiu xueshu taolunhui 1985, 239–251.

95 This book was published in two volumes by Zhonghua shuju in 1934.

96 According to Wang Guangqi, this article was published in *Dresdner Anzeiger*, 1926. But scholars have not been able to locate it.

97 Wang, Kwang-chi [Wang Guangqi]: "Über Die chinesiche Poetik", in: *Sinica* 5 (1930).

98 Wang, Kwang-chi [Wang Guangqi]: "Die Statistik des chinesischen Ackerlandes im Laufe der Jahrtausende", in: *Sinica* 3 (1928), 3–9.

99 Wang, Kwang-chi [Wang Guangqi]: "Über Die chinesiche Poetik" (1930).

100 For Wang Guangqi's connection with Richard Wilhelm, see Gong Hong-yu 宫宏宇: "Wang Guangqi yu Deguo hanxuejie 王光祈與德國漢學界. A Confucian Scholar in a Foreign Land: *Wang Guangqi* and German Sinologists of the 1920s and 1930s", in: *Zhongguo yinyue xue* 中國音樂學 [Musicology in China] 2 (2005), 75–86.

101 For a photo of Ling playing the *qin*, see Wilhelm, Richard (ed.): *Chinesische Musik: anlässlich der "Woche chinesischer Musik" im Rahmen der internationalen Ausstellung 'Musik im Leben der Völker'", August 1927*, Frankfurt am Main: China-Institut 1927, front inside cover.

102 Paul Ernst Kahle was a leading figure in the history of German Oriental studies during the 20th century, He studied Theology and Oriental Languages in Marburg and Halle. After his PhD and further research in Berlin, London, Oxford and Cambridge, he moved to Cairo (1903-1908). After returning to Germany, Kahle lectured in Halle before moving to Bonn in 1923 where he was appointed Director of the Oriental Department until he

was appointed lecturer in Chinese (*Außerplanmäßiger Lektor für Chinesisch*) by the University of Bonn. During his time of just over three years in Bonn, he worked closely with the German sinologist Erich Schmitt (1893–1955)[103], offering courses in Chinese language and culture. In 1933 and 1934, Wang taught "Übungen in chinesischer Schrift und Sprache für Anfänger" and "Chinesische Übungen für Fortgeschrittene". In 1935, he offered courses on a broader range of topics including "Chinesische Geschichte – Leichter Text", "Si-ma Tsiaen 163–85 vor Chr", "Bekannte Briefe", and "Dramen" in addition to language-focused courses like reading newspaper articles ("Zeitungsartikel") and speaking and writing practice ("Schreibübung [und?] Konversation für Anfänger und Fortgeschrittene"). He was also assigned with teaching new courses on on Tang and Song prose ("Prosastücke aus de Tang-und-Songzeit 618–1276 n. Chr"), modern drama ("Modernes Sprechdrama", and letter writing ("Übungen im Briefstil") in 1936 but his untimely death in January of that year put an end to his lecturing career.[104]

Apart from teaching, Wang Guangqi also attended lectures offered by his PhD supervisor Ludwig Ferdinand Schiedermair (1876–1957)[105] of the Univer-

was forced to move to England. During his tenure at Bonn he did much to promote not only Hebrew studies, but also Chinese and Japanese languages and cultures. See Chiesa, Bruno et al: "Paul Ernst Kahle's research seen through the documents in his archive: The KADMOS project", in: *Sounds and Words through the Ages: Afroasatic Studies from Turin*, ed. by Mengozzi, Alessandro and Tosco, Mauro, Mengozzi: Edizioni dell'Orso 2013, 349–350.

103 Erich Schmitt was the first professor of Chinese at Bonn University. He is credited with the first German translation of the *Liaozhai zhiyi* 聊齋志異 [Strange tales from a Leisure Studio] in 1924. See Pu, Songling: *Seltsame Geschichten aus dem Liao Chai. Frei übertragen aus dem Urtext v. Erich Schmitt*, Berlin: Häger 1924. Schmitt 's other works include *Die Chinesen* (Tu bingen, 1927) and "Fünfzig hsieh-hou-yü aus T 'ai-yüan-fu", *Asia Major* 9 (1933): 568–79. Schmitt, Erich and Kressler, Oskar (ed.): *Kultur der orientalischen Völker* (Handbuch der Kulturgeschichte : Abt. 2., Geschichte des Völkerlebens), Potsdam: Akadem. Verl.-Gesellsch. Athenaion 1936. Schmitt, Erich and I, Lu: *Einführung in das moderne Hochchinesisch*, Shanghai: Nössler 1939.

104 Chiang Yu-ring 江玉玲: "Wang Guangqi de yinyue zhushu yu sanshi niandai de Bolin xuepai 王光祈的音樂著述與三十年代的柏林學派" [Musicological work of Wang Guangqi and the musicology of the Berlin school in the 1930s], in: *Yishu xue* 藝術學 [Journal of Art Studies] 11 (1994), 113–132.

105 Ludwig Ferdinand Schiedermair was known as an expert on opera history, Mozart, and Beethoven. He taught musicology at the University of Leipzig with Hugo Riemann, then in Berlin with Kretzschmar, later at Marburg University. He was professor of musicology at the University of Bonn from 1912 to 1945. In 1914 he edited the first complete edition of the letters of Mozart and his family and founded the Beethoven Archive at the Beethoven House, Bonn, in March 1927. He also founded the Institute for Musicology at the University of Bonn.

sity of Bonn during his first three semesters and worked on his PhD thesis.[106] Although Wang mentioned his study at both Berlin and Bonn on several occasions, he did not make it clear when and at which university he had begun to work on his doctoral thesis. However, from the brief information he provided in the preface of his thesis "Über die chinesische klassische Oper, 1530–1860" (On Classical Chinese Opera, 1530–1860) we know that on June 6, in 1934, with his thesis completed, Wang presented himself at Bonn University for his oral examination and succeeded. His examiners were Ludwig Schiedermair and Erich Schmitt.[107]

Probably due to his teaching and studying commitments, Wang's writing on music during this period of his life was not as prolific as it had been during the period in Berlin. Besides his PhD thesis, which was subsequently published in three installments in the Geneva-based journal *Orient et Occident* in 1934,[108] he only published two articles in German which were related to Chinese music: "Musikalische Beziehungen zwischen China und dem Westen im Laufe der Jahrtausende",[109] and "Das gesprochene und das musikalische Drama in China".[110] The former was written as a birthday tribute to Paul Kahle and the latter was a rebuttal in response to a piece on Chinese drama by a certain Mr. Katscher. In Chinese he published "Zhongguo yinlü zhi jinhua" 中國音律之進化 (The evolution of the Chinese tone system) and a few other articles.[111]

106 Wang Guangqi: "Wo de jianli" (1984), 314.

107 Wang Guangqi: "Lun Zhongguo gudian geju 論中國古典歌劇" [On classical Chinese opera], in: *Wang Guangqi yinyue lunwen xuan* 王光祈音樂論文選, ed. by Li Wen 立文, Bi Xing 畢興, and Zhu Zhou 朱舟, Chengdu: Wang Guangqi yanjiu xueshu taolunhui 1984, 238–314, see 242.

108 Wang, Kwang-chi [Wang Guangqi]: "Über die chinesische klassische Oper: (1530–1860 n. Chr.)", in: *Orient et Occident* 1.1–3 (1934).

109 Wang, Kwang-chi [Wang Guangqi]: "Musikalische Beziehungen zwischen China und dem Westen im Laufe der Jahrtausende", in: *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Nahen und Fernen Ostens: Paul Kahle zum 60. Geburtstag überreicht von Freunden und Schülern aus dem Kreise des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität Bonn*, ed. by Heffening, Willi and Kirfel, Willibald, Leiden: E. J. Brill 1935, 217–223.

110 Wang, Kwang-chi [Wang Guangqi]: "Das gesprochene und das musikalische Drama in China", in: *Geistige Arbeit* August 20, 1935. (August 20)

111 Wang Guangqi: "Zhongguo yinlü zhi jinhua 中國音律之進化" [The evolution of the Chinese tone system], in: *Zhonghua jiaoyujie* 中華教育界 [China's Educational Circles] 1.21–22 (1933), 59–64.

6 Conclusion

Wang Guangqi led many lives during his sixteen years in Germany, three of which stand out as most significant – first as a pioneer of Western music in China, then as a transmitter of the theories and methods of the Berlin School of Musicology, and finally as an explicator of Chinese music to the German public. In all three his role was most extraordinary. He was the first Chinese person to earn a doctorate in musicology from a German university and his writings on Western music were not only among the earliest publications on the subject but also the most comprehensive in China before the 1960s.[112]

Wang Guangqi's second role, as a transmitter of the theories and methods of the Berlin School of Musicology, has been described by a modern scholar as significant but that his influence in this area was negligible. "In the China of the 1920s and '30s," the scholar writes, "his work did not receive the attention it deserved, and for the next forty years or more, right up until the early 1980s, there was no research done on his work at all."[113] This is not entirely true. In fact, Wang's work in comparative musicology was taken notice of not only by Chinese scholars but by Japanese scholars as well. Shortly after the publication of Wang's *Dong Xi yuezhi zhi yanjiu* in 1926, Yang Molei 楊沒累 (1897–1928), a Beijing-based music scholar, wrote a review discussing Wang's and Tanabe Hisao's 田辺尚雄 (1883–1984) work on pitch calculation.[114] Ten years later, Shen Youding 沈有鼎 (1908–1989), the philosopher and an expert in mathematical

112 Besides Wang's works, only a dozen or so books were published in China during the 1920s. They were: Huang Jinhuai 黄金槐: *Xiyang yinyue qianshuo* 西洋音樂淺說 [A brief introduction to Western music], Shanghai: Zhonghua xueyishe 1925. Feng Zikai 豐子愷: *Yinyue de changshi* 音樂的常識 [Basic knowledge about music], Shanghai: Yadong tushuguan 1925. Feng Zikai 豐子愷: *Yinyue rumen* 音樂入門 [Introduction to music], Shanghai: Kaiming shudian 1926. Zhang Ruogu 張若谷: *Yinyue ABC* 音樂 ABC [Music ABC], Shanghai: ABC congshushe 1929. Yu Jifan 俞寄凡: *Xiyang yinyue xiaoshi* 西洋音樂小史 [A brief history of Western music], Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan 1927. Yu Jifan 俞寄凡: *Xiyang yinyue shigang* 西洋音樂史綱 [An outline of Western music], Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan 1930. For a discussion of the significance of Wang's books on Chinese knowledge of Western music, see Cai Liangyu 蔡良玉: "Woguo xifang yinyueshi zhuanzhu fangfa huigu 我國西方音樂史專著方法回顧" [A reflection of writings on Western music in China], in: *Renmin yinyue* 人民音樂 [People's Music] 9 (1998), 34–36.

113 Liu, Ching-chih: *A critical history of new music in China*, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan 2010, 177.

114 Yang Molei 楊沒累: "Ping Wang Guangqi 'lun Zhongguo yuelu' bing zhi Tianbian Shangxiong 評王光祈'論中國樂律'幷質田边尚雄'" [Review of Wang Guangqi's 'On Chinese temperament theory' with questions posed to Tanabe Hisao], in: *Minduo zazhi* 民鐸雜誌 [People's Bell] 8.4 (1927).

logic, published a lengthy review in the Journal of Tsinghua University to praise Wang's contribution.[115] The book itself was so well-received that it had to be reprinted in 1928 and 1936. In 1958 the book, along with *Dongfang minzu zhi yinyue*, was again reprinted in Beijing. The Japanese musicologist, Kishibe Shigeo 岸邊成雄 (1912–2005) published his highly positive review of Wang's *Zhongguo yinyueshi* in *Toyo Ongaku Kenkyu* as early as 1937.[116]

Perhaps no less importantly, in his German articles and PhD thesis, Wang helped explain Chinese music to the cultural elite of Berlin and Bonn. Admittedly, the influence Wang had exerted in his role as an messenger of Chinese music to the German public was not as big as his roles as a pioneer of Western music in China and a promoter of the Berlin School of Comparative Musicology. Nevertheless, he was, arguably, the first Chinese person who tried to explain China's musical culture to the German public. The fact that his German writings on Chinese music and his PhD thesis are still being cited testifies to the significance and durability of his work.

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115 SHEN Youding 沈有鼎: "Ping 'dong-xi yuezhi zhi yanjiu' 評《東西樂制之研究》" [Review of 'On the tone systems of Orient and Occident' by Wang Guangqi], in: *Qinghua daxue xuebao* 清華大學學報 [Journal of Tsinghua University] 3.1 (1936), 261–271.

116 KISHIBE Shigeo 岸邊成雄: "Tangdai yinyue wenxian jieshuo 唐代音樂文献解說" [Comments on music documents of Tang dynasty], in: *Toyo ongaku kenkyu* 東洋音樂研究 [Journal of the Society for the Research of Asiatic Music] 1.1 (1937–1938), 78–81.

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